

## Message Text

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ACTION NEA-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 EA-06 ISO-00 NEAE-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00

USIE-00 INRE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-02 INR-07

L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 AID-05

IO-10 SAJ-01 OMB-01 OPR-02 DHA-02 EB-07 TRSE-00 PC-01

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FM AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9860

INFO AMEMBASSY COLOMBO PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY DACCA PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY KABUL

AMEMBASSY KATHMANDU PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMCONSUL BOMBAY PRIORITY

AMCONSUL CALCUTTA PRIORITY

AMCONSUL HONG KONG

AMCONSUL KARACHI PRIORITY

AMCONSUL LAHORE PRIORITY

AMCONSUL MADRAS PRIORITY

USLO PEKING

RUHQHQA CINCPAC

USUN NEW YORK 1833

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 NEW DELHI 9265

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: X-GDS-1

TAGS: PINS, PINT, IN

SUBJ: CURRENT POLITICAL SITUATION

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REF: NEW DELHI 9188

SUMMARY: QUIET CONTINUES THROUGHOUT INDIA WITH THE MAN IN THE CITY STREET AND IN THE VILLAGES REPORTEDLY UNAWARE OR INDIFFERENT THERE IS A STATE OF EMERGENCY. IN ADDITION TO THE INDUSTRIALISTS, MRS. GANDHI TOLD A MEETING OF CIVIL SERVANTS THAT HER GOVERNMENT AND ITS PROGRAMS WOULD BE "CENTRIST" RATHER THAN OF THE RIGHT OR LEFT. THIS IS INTERPRETED TO MEAN A CONTINUATION OF EXISTING POLICIES. THE CPI IS REPORTEDLY UNHAPPY AND UNCERTAIN ABOUT ITS FUTURE. MP CONTACTS CONTINUE TO QUESTION WHETHER MRS. GANDHI WILL BE ABLE TO BRING ABOUT EFFECTIVE ECONOMIC CHANGES. ECONOMIC PROGRESS IS SAID TO BE A PRIOR CONDITION FOR HOLDING ELECTIONS, SUCH ECONOMIC IMPROVEMENT COULD BE THE RESULT OF THE GOVERNMENT'S PROGRAMS OR OF GENEROUS RAINS. IF ELECTIONS ARE TO BE HELD, MP'S SAY, THE STATE OF EMERGENCY WOULD BE LIFTED SHORTLY BEFORE BALLOTING SO AS TO MINIMIZE THE OPPORTUNITY OF THE RELEASED OPPOSITION LEADERS TO PROTEST ANC CAMPAIGN. THE RAJYA SABHA IS NOW ALSO SET TO MEET ON JULY 21, THE OPENING DATE FOR THE LOK SABHA. THERE IS A POSSIBILITY THAT THE PARLIAMENTARY SESSION WILL NOT BE LIMITED TO THE RATIFICATION OF THE STATE OF EMERGENCY. CONTRARY TO EARLIER WIRE SERVICE REPORTS, WE ARE TOLD THAT THERE WILL BE LIMITED PRESS COVERAGE OF THE PARLIAMENTARY SESSION BUT THAT IT WILL BE CENSORED. AT THIS POINT, THE DIPLOMATIC CORPS IS TO BE ALLOWED TO ATTEND, BUT VERBATIM DAILY PROCEEDINGS WILL NOT BE PRINTED, AS IS USUALLY DONE. MRS. GANDHI, IN AN AFRICA DAY MEETING JULY 9, COMPLAINED ABOUT "COUNTRIES WHICH SUPPORT DICTATORS" COMMENTING ABOUT THE LACK OF DEMOCRACY IN INDIA. END SUMMARY.

1. TO OUR KNOWLEDGE THE SITUATION CONTINUES QUIET THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY. MORE PERSONS ARE BEING DETAINED, AND WE WILL BE PROVIDING SUMMARY TALLIES SHORTLY. ANDHRA PRADESH CHIEF MINISTER, VENGAL RAO, RECENTLY SAID THAT IN HIS TOURS OF THE STATE'S DISTRICTS, HE FOUND ABSOLUTE NORMALCY, AND VILLAGERS WERE UNAWARE THAT THERE WAS AN EMERGENCY IN EFFECT. A NUMBER OF MP'S FROM OTHER STATES HAVE MADE SIMILAR OBSERVATIONS TO US. IT IS SAID, HOWEVER, THAT VILLAGERS WERE AWARE OF ARRESTS BEING MADE. VENGAL RAO REPORTEDLY SAID THAT HE HAS GIVEN STRICT INSTRUCTIONS TO THE POLICE NOT TO ARREST INNOCENT PERSONS NOT CONNECTED WITH THE BANNED POLITICAL

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PARTIES. ONE MP TELLS US OF INDISCRIMINATE ARRESTS BEING MADE IN MADHYA PRADESH AND WE ARE CANVASSING TO SEE WHETHER THIS IS OCCURRING IN OTHER STATES.

2. ACCORDING TO THE MINISTER OF STATE FOR INDUSTRY AND CIVIL SUPPLIES, A.P. SHARMA, PRIME MINISTER GANDHI TOLD A MEETING OF HIS MINISTRY'S INDUSTRY DEPARTMENT ON JULY 9 THAT HER GOVERNMENT AND ITS PROGRAMS WOULD BE "CENTRST" RATHE THAN OF THE RIGHT OR THE

LEFT. SHAMA EXPLAINED THAT THIS MEANT A CONTINUATION OF THE SOCIALIST POLICIES WHICH THE GOVERNMENT HAS BEEN CARRYING OUT ALL ALONG AND THAT THERE WOULD BE NO RADICAL DEPARTURES FROM THE EXISTING ORIENTATION. THIS CONFIRMS THE REPORTED REMARKS OF MRS. GANDHI TO THE JULY 7 MEETING OF INDUSTRIALISTS TO THE EFFECT THAT INDIA SHOULD HAVE A CENTRIST GOVERNMENT (NEW DELHI 9193). CONGRESS (R) MP FROM BIHAR, HARI KISHORE SINGH, TELLS US THAT THE CPI IS VERY UNHAPPY AND UNCERTAIN ABOUT ITS FUTURE. MRS. GANDHI, HE SAID, HAS NO INTENTION OF MOVING "LEFT." SINGH BELIEVES THAT MRS. GANDHI WILL HAVE NO ALTERNATIVE BUT TO MOVE TOWARD THE U.S. AND AWAY FROM THE SOVIETS, WHO HAVE NOTHING ECONOMICALLY OF SUBSTANCE TO GIVE INDIA.

3. SINGH AND OTHERS HAVE QUESTIONED WHETHER MRS. GANDHI CAN, IN THE LONG RUN, MAKE AN AUTHORITARIAN SYSTEM WORK IN HTEROGENEOUS INDIA FOR MORE THAN ONE YEAR. HE AND OTHER CONTACTS IN THE CONGRESS PARTY DOUBT WHETHER THE GOVERNMENT WILL BE BLE TO BRING ABOUT EFFEC-TIVE ECONOMIC CHANGES, PARTICULARLY N THE RURAL AREAS. THEY PARTICULARLY QUESTION THE PROPOSAL TO DECLARE A MORATORIUM ON RURAL INDEBTEDNESS (THE FARMER-DEBTORSFEEL A MORAL OBLIGATION TO REPAY THEIR LOANS WHICH IS NOT THOUGHT TO BE IN THE GOV-ERNMENT'S PROVINCE TO EXCUSE) AND THE PROPOSAL TO SET A MINIMUM, AGRICULTURAL WAGE (THIS WILL BE VERY DIFFICULT TO POLICE AND WILL OFFEND THE RURAL LAND-OWNERS WHO HAVE TRADITIONALLY SUPPORTED THE CO-ORESS).

4. MINISTER SHARMA SAID THAT THE GOVERNMENT HAS APPROXIMATELY SIX MONTHS TO SHOW SOME ECONOMIC PROGRESS BEFORE ELECTIONS ARE HELD. HE SERIOUSLY DOUBTED THAT THE PRESENT PARLIAMENT WOULD BE EXTENDED AND ELECTIONS POSTPONED. OTHER PERSONS WITH WHOM WE HAVE SPOKEN, SUCH AS CHANDULAL CHANDRAKAR, A LEADING CONGRESS (R) MP FROM MADHYA PRADESH, HAVE TOLD US THAT ELECTIONS WOULD BE CONFIDENTIAL

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HELD ONLY F THERE WAS PROGRESS ON THE ECONOMIC FRONT. IN CHANDRAKAR'S VIEW THIS DEPENDED UPON SUCCESSFUL RAINS. OUR CONTACTS BELIEVE THAT IF THE STATE OF EMERGENCY WERE TO BE LIFTED, THIS WOULD BE DONE ONLY SHORTLY BEFORE ELECTIONS ARE HELD SO AS TO MINIMIZE THE OPPORTUNITY OF THE RELEASED OPPOSITION LEADERS, SUCH AS J.P. MARAYAN AND MORARJI DESAI, TO CARRY THEIR PROTESTS THROUGH-OUT THE COUNTRY.

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ACTION NEA-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 EA-06 IO-10 ISO-00 NEAE-00 SSO-00

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AID-05 SAJ-01 OMB-01 OPR-02 DHA-02 EB-07 TRSE-00 PC-01

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FM AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9861

INFO AMEMBASSY COLOMBO PRIORITY

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AMCONSUL LAHORE PRIORITY QYPR

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 NEW DELHI 9265

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

5. THE RAJYA SABHA WILL MEET ON JULY 21, THE DAY PREVIOUSLY  
ANNOUNCED FOR THE CONVENING OF THE LOK SABHA. CONTRARY  
TO WIRE SERVICE DESPATCHES REPORTED NEW DELHI 9188,  
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CANDRAKAR BELIEVES THAT PARLIAMENT WILL SIT FOR 15 DAYS  
RATHER THAN ONE WEEK AND THAT A NUMBER OF IMPORTANT LEGISLA-

TIVE MATTERS (WHICH HE WOULD NOT SPECIFY) WOULD BE CONSIDERED IN ADDITION TO THE RATIFICATION OF THE STATE OF EMERGENCY. THE LATTER ISSUE WOULD BE QUICKLY HANDLED AND WOULD NOT PRESENT ANY PROBLEM. THERE ARE TENTATIVE REPORTS THAT THE GOVERNMENT IS CONSIDERING MAKING THE PRESENT PARLIAMENT INTO A "CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY" TO REVISE THE CONSTITUTION, MAKING IT A "STRONG PRESIDENTIAL" TYPE. WORK IS SAID TO BE IN PROGRESS USING BOTH THE U.S. AND FRENCH CONSTITUTIONS AS MODELS. IT IS NOT KNOWN WHETHER THIS MATTER WOULD BE CONSIDERED BY THE SESSION SCHEDULED TO CONVENE ON JULY 21ST.

6. CHANDRAKAR SAID THAT HE MET WITH THE INFORMATION MINISTER ON JULY 7 TO DISCUSS PRESS COVERAGE OF THE PARLIAMENTARY SESSION. (CHANDRAKAR IS CURRENTLY AN ASSOCIATE EDITOR OF THE HINDI LANGUAGE DAILY HINDUSTAN.) HE RECOMMENDED THAT A LIMITED NUMBER OF JOURNALISTS BE ALLOWED TO COVER THE DEBATE AND THAT THEIR ARTICLES BE CENSORED. THE PERSONAL SECRETARY TO THE SPEAKER OF THE LOK SABHA SUBSEQUENTLY TOLD US THAT THERE WOULD BE PRESS COVERAGE OF THE PROCEEDINGS ALONG THE LINES MENTIONED ABOVE (WITHOUT REFERRING TO CHANDRAKAR) BUT THAT THIS COULD BE CHANGED BEFORE THE SESSION BEGINS ON JULY 21. IN ADDITION, THE PERSONAL SECRETARY SAID THAT THE DIPLOMATIC CORPS WOULD BE ALLOWED TO ATTEND THE SESSIONS. THESE TWO LATTER POINTS ARE CONTRARY TO OUR UNDERSTANDING REPORTED REFTEL BASED UPON WIRE SERVICE RELEASES. THE PERSONAL SECRETARY ALSO STATED THAT CONTRARY TO TRADITIONAL PRACTICE, VERBATIM RECORDS OF PARLIAMENTARY PROCEEDINGS FOR THE PREVIOUS DAY WOULD NOT BE AVAILABLE, BUT THE PARLIAMENT WOULD PROBABLY ISSUE A BRIEF DAILY SUMMARY. (IF PERMITTED, EMPLOYEES WILL ATTEND PARLIAMENT SESSIONS, BUT SINCE NOTE-TAKING BY DIPLOMATS HAS ALWAYS BEEN PROHIBITED AND IN THE ABSENCE OF VERBATIM RECORDS, WE WILL HAVE DIFFICULTY REPORTING THE EXACT REMARKS MADE DURING THE DEBATE.)

7. PRIME MINISTER GANDHI ADDRESSED A MEETING JULY 9 IN OBSERVATION OF AFRICA DAY, THE THEME OF WHICH WAS MOZAMBIQUE INDEPENDENCE. SALUTING MOZAMBIQUE, SHE POINTED OUT THAT

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FREEDOM WAS ONLY THE BEGINNING, PROBLEMS WOULD COME LATER. SHE COMPLAINED OF THE HATE CAMPAIGN AGAINST HER CARRIED OUT BY THE EXTREME RIGHT AND THE EXTREME LEFT FOR THE PAST FOUR YEARS. THE ONLY FAULT OF THE GOVERNMENT, SHE SAID, WAS THAT IT HAD TOLERATED THIS IRRESPONSIBLE OPPOSITION FOR SO LONG. SHE BLAimed UNFAVORABLE INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC CONDITIONS FOR ANY FAILURES IN THE GOVERNMENT'S PROGRAMS. THE PRIME MINISTER'S ONLY DIRECT REFERENCE TO FOREIGNERS WAS HER COMMENT THAT "EVEN IN COUNTRIES WHICH SUPPORT DICTATORS,

THEY COMPLAIN ABOUT LACK OF DEMOCRACY IN INDIA." CPI GENERAL SECRETARY, C. RAJESWARA RAO, SPEAKING AFTER MRS. GANDHI LEFT THE HALL, ATTACKED PRESIDENT FORD, SECRETARIES KISSINGER AND SCHLESSINGER, AND CIA DIRECTOR COLBY, BUT IN HIS ENTHUSIASM FORGOT TO SAY ANYTHING ABOUT MOZAMBIQUE.

8. THREE MALAYALAM NEWSPAPERS WITH DIFFERENT POLITICAL ORIENTATIONS ALL REPORT THAT KERALA CHIEF MINISTER ACHUTHA MENON IN HIS JULY 7 MEETING WITH NEWSMEN CHARGED THAT BANNED ORGANIZATIONS HAD "AMERICAN" CONTACTS. CONGEN MADRAS HAD EARLIER REPORTED THAT HE HAD REFERRED ONLY TO CONNECTIONS WITH "CERTAIN FOREIGN COUNTRIES."

9. PROBABLY APPROACHING THE LIMITS OF WHAT IS PERMISSIBLE, THE HINDUSTAN TIMES OF JULY 10 EDITORIALIZED THAT THE PARLIAMENTARY SESSION ABOUT TO COMMENCE WOULD HAVE "GREATER MEANING AND AUTHORITY" IF THE "OPPOSITION AND OTHER LEADERS" WHO ARE DETAINED WERE RELEASED.

10. THE ADVOCATE-GENERAL OF HARYANA, JAGAN NATH KAUSHAL, WILL, ACCORDING TO THE PRESS, ARGUE MRS. GANDHI'S ELECTION VIOLATIONS CASE BEFORE THE SUPREME COURT. N. A. PALKHIWALA, THE TATA LAWYER WHO REPRESENTED HER IN THIS MATTER HAD PREVIOUSLY WITHDRAWN, THUS DISCREDITING HIMSELF BOTH IN GOVERNMENT AND OPPOSITION CIRCLES. (HE HAD BEEN CLOSE TO THE J.P. MOVEMENT AT ITS INCEPTION.)

11. M.Y. TIMES CORRESPONDENT BILL BORDERS TELLS US HE REACHED CHIEF JUSTICE RAY IN CALCUTTA SEVERAL DAYS AGO TO ASK ABOUT RAY'S REPORTED RESIGNATION, BUT RAY SIMPLY DECLINED ALL COMMENT THUS LEAVING THIS PARTICULAR RUMOR STILL UNSCOTCHED. WE REMAIN PUZZLED WHY THOSE CONCERNED ARE REFUSING TO PUT IT TO REST ONCE CONFIDENTIAL

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AND FOR ALL IF IT IS FALSE.

12. WE HAVE HEARD THAT ARRESTED MP CHANDRASEKHAR WAS ALLOWED TO VISIT JAYAPRAKASH NARAYAN IN THE HOSPITAL IN CHANDIGARH SEVERAL DAYS AGO. THERE IS A RUMOR CHANDRASEKHAR IS DOING SOME INTERMEDIARY WORK BETWEEN MRS. GANDHI AND J.P. BUT WE CANNOT CONFIRM THIS. NARAYAN'S HEALTH HAS REPORTEDLY IMPROVED SOMEWHAT.

13. CONGEN BOMBAY REPORTS THAT OPPOSITION BLD MP PILOO MODY WAS RELEASED FROM JAIL FOR TWO DAYS TO ATTEND THE FUNERAL OF HIS NEPHEW IN BOMBAY, BUT WAS ACCOMPANIED BY SECURITY OFFICERS AND HAD TO REMAIN IN DETENTION AT NIGHT. MODY'S WIFE HAS ALSO VISITED HIM AND WE SUSPECT THAT SIMILAR PRIVILEGES ARE PROBABLY BEING OFFERED OTHER "DISTINGUISHED GUESTS" OF THE GOVERNMENT. WE UNDERSTAND THAT A TOTAL OF 20 MPS HAVE BEEN ARRESTED ALTOGETHER (AS OPPOSED TO OUR EARLIER FIGURE OF 14). CONGRESS MPS IN JAIL ARE

STILL REPORTEDLY ONLY TWO.

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## Message Attributes

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